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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the Philippine transition of power as a communication event where the role of the print and electronic media is juxtaposed to cultural and political-economic determinants. The paper attempts to describe the similarities and differences between culture and communications in the Philippines and the United States. An historical-descriptive qualitative methodology is utilized. The paper uses selected stories that specify culture and political economy to glean the reality of what has transpired in the Philippines and the role the American and Philippine media, print and electronic, played both as observer and participant. Language and geography are considered principal elements of culture in the paper. The paper is taken from the content of a seminar in international broadcasting presently given at Eastern Illinois University. (Seventy-five references are attached.) (Author/MG)

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1986 Philippine Elections: Political Economy as Communication and Media Influence

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A paper presented

to the Speech Communication Association

November 13-16, 1986

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Dedication

To the Filipino people who first showed us "people power" in action.

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Abstract

The Philippine elections became front page news, and in many cases headlines during the month of February--across the United States and in many parts of the world. Radio and television media, in the U.S., presented the Philippine elections with special attention that included, besides the regular installment of evening and nightly news, frequent interruptions of regularly scheduled programming. The purpose of this paper, however, goes beyond the media's coverage of the Philippine elections during the month of February. This paper will examine the Philippine transition of power as a communication event where the role of the print and electronic media is juxtaposed to cultural and political-economic determinants.

Methodology

To accomplish the paper's purpose, a historical-descriptive qualitative methodology will be utilized. Enumerating the number and kind of stories may be considered, but those stories that specify culture and political-economy, in-depth, will be selected in order to glean the reality of what has transpired in the Philippines and the role American and the Philippine media, print and electronic, had both as observer and

participant. Language and geography are considered principal elements of culture in this paper.

Educators must learn to read TV in the present as they have learned to read books in the past.

On January 1, 1986 Americans and Filipinos both welcomed the New Year with the hope for good health and prosperity. The Philippine situation, however, seemed entirely different from our own. This paper will attempt to describe the similarities and differences between our two cultures based on our political economies and our systems of communication. Further, this paper supports the notion that without a free press and meaningful support from the populace at large, it is virtually impossible to dethrone a dictator. The 1986 Philippine election will serve as a stage where a variety of players can be seen performing their respective roles: the Filipinos with maximum audacity and candor and the Americans with enthusiasm and yet reserve.

Methodology

A theoretical framework of political economy as communication is closely scrutinized in order to provide the reader with a backdrop for the players, the Filipinos who sought democracy and the Americans who inspired them to succeed.

The print and electronic media in the United States and in the Philippines are examined to see if they serve as a catalyst, mobilizing public opinion and sentiment in their respective countries. Midwestern American newspapers, especially the St. Louis Post-Dispatch,

popular American news magazines, the major television networks and international radio news services comprise the mainstay of news about the Philippines in this country; Philippine newspapers, magazines and videotape provide their story; finally, the American-Philippine newspaper, Philippine News, is also presented as a viable linkage between our two worlds. As pointed out in the introduction, this paper attempts to describe the similarities and differences between culture and communications in our two countries: the reader is asked to draw a relationship, if one exists, between the two.

Linguistic Base

The Philippine Archipelago with 7,100 islands is located in Southeast Asia: between the Pacific Ocean on the east and the South China Sea on the west (See map). "The archipelago lies a thousand kilometers from the Asian mainland, stretching 1,850 km. from north to south and 965 km. from west to east" (Philippines: A Diver's Paradise, 1986, p. 30). The islands are mountainous and volcanic with seemingly endless coastlines. The country is divided into three regions, Luzon to the north, Visayas in the middle and Mindanao to the south. The nation's capital Manila is located in Luzon (p. 30).

The 55 million Filipinos of Indo-Malay, Chinese and Spanish stock are of predominantly Christian (90

percent) and Muslim (10 percemt) beliefs (p. 30).

The Philippines had a distinct culture and system of government long before the Spanish arrived in the 16th century. The Spanish conquistadores, led by Ferdinand Magellan, were resisted by Lapu-Lapu, datu of Mactan Island near Cebu, where Magellan was slain in 1521. "Three centuries of Spanish colonization, marked by occasional rebellions, ended when the martyrdom of Dr. Jose P.Rizal, an influential writer and propagandist, sparked a fullscale revolution" (p. 30). After the defeat of Spain in the Spanish-American War, the Philippines were ceded to the United States. American rule came to an end in 1946 when the U.S. granted them independence: the Philippine Republic emerged.

In the Archipelago, 87 languages with 111 dialects are spoken. "Pilipino, based on the Tagalog dialect, is the national language" (p. 37). Today, however, most Filipinos are bi-lingual, with English still the basic language in business, government, schools and everyday communications" (pp. 36-37).[1]

Political-Economy

Public Media

If the United States has contributed significantly to the historical development of the Philippines in this century, it is important to note that the two major

legacies we leave to the Filipinos are our values of "democracy and free speech" (Rusher, Feb. 26, 1986, p. 3B). Since the end of World War II, a succession of presidents have ruled the Philippines, of whom the longest lasting has been Ferdinand E. Marcos, first elected in 1966. According to William Rusher, "none of them has been exactly noted for fiscal probity" (p. 3B). Moreover, Marcos suspended the constitution and, between 1972 and 1981, ruled by decree. He blamed communist guerrillas for making this necessary. Nevertheless, he was "overwhelmingly elected to a new six-year term in June 1981" (p. 3B). Rusher declares that the United States "had every reason to congratulate itself on having had, for more than a third of a century, a stable ally in a region of growing importance" (p. 3B).

Since 1981, Marcos' grip on the Philippine political predicament deteriorated. In 1983, the assassination of the opposition leader, Benigno Aquino, rallied the anti-Marcos forces (p. 3B). Because of Marcos' inability to dispel the communist threat in his homeland, the Reagan Administration, as Rusher relates, took the position that "Marcos would have to be replaced--ideally by someone equally friendly to the United States" (p. 3B). Rusher is of the opinion that U.S. media, and sentimental liberals in general, attempt " to turn every political

development into a morality play" (p. 3B). He does not believe that Marcos is guilty of the "bottomless corruption, military cowardice and even murder" with which he has been charged (3B).

The real question Rusher asks is who should succeed Marcos: the widow Aquino, he insists, is a lightweight, and a housewife, unprepared to handle the responsibilities of statesmanship; he would prefer to see "some broad coalition with close ties to the military and economic leadership of the nation" (p. 3B). Aquino, he fears, will only guarantee instability for the foreseeable future.

Not once in William Rusher's article does he ever refer to Corazon Aquino by her first name. The world, however, has come to know her by a variety of names and attributes, such as "the lady in yellow"; most simply choose to call her "Cory." Prior to the assassination of her late husband, she was virtually unknown. Today, her name is as renown as the leaders of the major world powers. Many felt that Salvador Laurel would become the opposition candidate for the snap election called by Ferdinand Marcos. However, the people drafted Corazon Aquino, who had no political ambitions of her own. Laurel, feeling that his candidacy would divide the opposition's vote against Marcos, in a magnanimous

gesture stepped down, thus paving the way for a united front against the incumbent. Corazon Aquino, then, had only one task before her: to defeat the man "whom she blamed for her husband's death" ("Corazon Aquino 'Just One Victim'..." Feb. 26, 1986, p. 1F). In her words "I am just one of the thousands and millions of victims of the Marcos dictatorship--and I know very well that I am not the victim who has suffered the most. But it just so happens, perhaps, that I am the best-known of Marcos' long list of victims" (p. 1F).

In his article, Rusher comments that Mrs. Aquino is "pitifully untutored" (Rusher, p. 3B); conversely, Aquino has often said most of her political ideas come from her late husband ("Corazon Aquino 'Just one Victim'..." p. 1F). "People have said I have no training in politics," she once told an interviewer. "But I was living with one of the best teachers in politics" (p. 1F).

When marshall law became a reality in 1972, Benigno Aquino was jailed for a period of eight years. During that time his wife served as his "eyes, ears, and voice in the stifling environment of marshall law" (p. 1F). In her biography, Aquino describes her husband's imprisonment as her "awakening" (p. 1F). "Whatever I know, I just picked up from Ninoy"--the pet name by which she and his supporters referred to her husband. After

Ninoy's release from prison, he and Cory moved to the United States in a self-imposed exile.

On February 26, 1986, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch front-page headlines read in large words: "MARCOS STEPS DOWN." The sub-headlines read "Aquino: 'The Long Agony Is Over; We Are Free,'" and two sub sub-headlines read "U.S. Backs Aquino Rule" and "Celebration in Streets." What Filipinos and most Americans long hoped for had finally materialized. "President Ronald Reagan formally recognized Corazon Aquino on Tuesday as the new leader of the Philippines and offered safe haven to former President Ferdinand E. Marcos and his associates" (Adams, Feb. 26, 1986, p. 1A). The news analysis section, section B of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, was devoted almost exclusively to the Philippines in transition. Major headlines in that section read "For Aquino, The Real Job Is Just Beginning," "Marcos Lost Grip On All The Horses and All The Men," and "Manila A Scene Of Triumphal Celebration." The major Midwestern newspapers and newspapers across the United States essentially articulated the same ideas.

One overlooked factor but later to become quite visible was Imelda Marcos, wife of Ferdinand E. Marcos. "One of the main stumbling blocks was Imelda," according to the Post-Dispatch ("Mrs. Marcos Called Am[illegible]

End," Feb. 26, 1986, p. 9A). "Apparently she wanted to stay and hoped to succeed him eventually." The Post-Dispatch continues that when Marcos announced in November that he would hold a special presidential election in February to appease critics and demonstrate his popularity, many Filipinos suggested that he might pull out at the very last minute and "substitute his wife's name for his on the ballot" (p. 9A). People in the United States and later in the Philippines were to find out that Imelda hoarded thousands of pairs of shoes, purses, six racks of clothes, and shelves upon shelves of expensive undergarments with price tags still attached. Her overwhelming opulence, according to many sources, was viewed as repulsive. Imelda, however, repeatedly denied harboring presidential ambitions. In 1982 she said "I would be a freak of a woman if I became president" (p. 9A). If Mrs. Marcos seemed to display greed, the Marcoses were being accused of avarice; many sources claimed that they had stolen as much as ten billion dollars that belonged to the Filipino people ("Aid in Recovering Marcos Wealth Pledged," March 7, 1986, p. 12A; "Official: Marcos Stashed..." Nov. 2, 1986, p. 6A).

Some of the problems facing the Philippines are of enormous proportion: political, economic, military. Many Filipinos question Aquino's good judgment in

retaining former Marcos loyalists. Secretary of State George P. Shultz himself said "It's interesting that her initial appointments have been ones that include people who have long been in the Marcos regime" (O'Rourke, Feb. 26, 1986, p. 1B). Many people wondered whether the two generals who defected, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Lt. General Fidel Ramos, the Deputy Armed Forces Chief-of-Staff, would attempt to wrestle the power away from Aquino (Anderson, March 3, 1986, p. 31). Thus, she must continue to maintain broad-based political support that emanates from her Cabinet as well as the support she receives from the Filipino people at present. The communist issue is a political, economic and military problem in and of itself, insofar as she has released all political prisoners including the communists from their places of detention (O'Rourke, March 2, 1986, p. 1A; O'Rourke, March 5, 1986, p. 1A; O'Rourke, March 6, 1986, p. 1A).

The second problem is how to recover the billions of dollars missing from the Philippine coffers ("Documents not surprising," March 19, 1986, p. 2A; "Aid in Recovering Marcos Wealth Pledged," p. 12A), while at the same time trying to convince the United States and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other friendly, wealthy nations that the Philippines is now safe for

investment purposes: both government and private monies are sought by the Aquino Administration.

The third problem touches on the Philippines' military relationship to the United States in terms of Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Bay and the current communist insurgency within its own borders. These three problems, inherited from the previous administration, are not insurmountable.

In August, U.S. Senator Richard Lugar, R-Ind, said that "The Loyalty of Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile has strengthened Aquino's government, which he said would be in no danger during her upcoming trip to the United States" ("Lugar in Manila," Aug. 21, 1986, p. 9A). In March, Aquino had retired Ver and 21 other generals loyal to Marcos. Luger went on to say that the U.S. had no "credible information" that during her visit any coup would be attempted by the armed forces or any other group. He said "The United States would condemn any such attempt" (p. 9A). It appears, therefore, that as of October 1986, Aquino has been able to consolidate all areas of the Philippines except for the southern region Mindanao Province (O'Rourke, March 3, 1986, p. 1A). She has the Filipino people and her Cabinet to thank.

Probably the most significant move that Aquino has taken was in early March when she overruled existing

Philippine laws by "declaring the directives of her 'revolutionary government'" (O'Rourke, March 5, 1986, p. 1A). O'Rourke goes on to say "a committee would draft a new constitution, which will be submitted to the Filipino people for ratification" (p. 1A). He states "Deposed Ferdinand E. Marcos controlled the assembly for two decades and used it to rubberstamp his decrees" (p. 1A). Justice Minister Neptali Gonzalez has noted that Aquino restored rights that were taken away by Marcos under the 1973 constitution: "Aquino on Sunday signed a document restoring the writ of habeas corpus, which Marcos had suspended" (p. 9A).

In October 1986, the Senate voted new aid to the Philippines and money to fight U.S. drug abuse as it approved "a record $558 billion spending bill" ("Philippine Aid Passes Senate," Oct. 4, 1986, p. 1A). According to the same source, a week-long debate to clear $200 million, approved earlier by the House for the Philippines, was necessary. The key dispute between Democrats and Republicans was how to appropriate money for it (p. 1A). Economically, to date, Aquino has been very persuasive before the U.S. Congress, the U.N., and the international business community in acquiring much needed funds to boost her government. The communists have repeatedly complained about the lack of economic and

social programs to aid the poor. Approximately 80 percent of the Filipino people live below the poverty level (PEOPLE POWER [Videotape], 1986; Hartman, Sept. 17-19, 1986). At present, Southeast Asia represents the majority of trade with the United States. The Philippines have excellent natural resources that complement products and services now obtained from Japan, Korea, Indonesia and Singapore: collectively known as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) ("The Asia-Pacific Region: A Foreward Look," Jan. 29, 1985, p. 1).

Militarily, Aquino has reached a tentative accord with the communists. The plan requires communists in the southern Philippines to cease fire, while at the same time allowing them, to maintain control of areas they now hold. Philip C. Habib, U.S. special envoy, met with Aquino in March and expressed President Reagan's hope that "the Philippine army could be changed to end counterproductive brutality and to gain competence through the replacement of those army leaders whose principal credential was loyalty to Marcos" (O'Rourke, March 2, 1986, p. 1A).

Military and diplomatic officials say the new people's army has 18,000 soldiers and is growing at a rate of 20 percent a year (p. 1A). Other sources place

the figure as high as 26,000 (PEOPLE POWER [videotape]; Hartman). In March, Aquino kept her campaign promises and released the imprisoned founder of the Communist Party and three guerrilla leaders despite U.S. and military warnings. This move could assist the leftist insurgency ("Aquino Frees Prisoners," March 6, 1986, p. 2A).

Throughout the 1986 Aquino campaign for the presidency, her most ardent supporter has been Cardinal Jaime Sin of the Catholic Church. He legitimized Aquino's campaign of civil disobedience following the National Assembly's proclamation that she had been defeated by Marcos. Also, his bishops endorsed "the defection of the two military officials and called out the thousands of people who rallied behind those officials" (O'Rourke, March 7, 1986, p. 1A).

In the meantime, the communists continue to be a problem. Since March there have been numerous ceasefire violations. Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile has gone on record saying he does not know how much longer his men can resist while the enemy continues to ambush military convoys and storm military patrol bases (PEOPLE POWER [Videotape]; Hartman).

State Department Papers

A perusal of the last two years of the United States

Department of State Bureau of Public Affairs papers yields interesting data vis-a-vis Southeast Asia, in general, and the Philippines, specifically. According to Michael H. Armacost, Under Secretary for Political Affairs, the Reagan Administration in January 1985 began its second term by making three general observations concerning Southeast Asia and the Philippines. First, there is a growing interest on the part of the United States in East Asia and the Pacific. The reasons are clear. "Our trade with the Pacific Basin exceeds our trade with Europe and is growing more rapidly.... We have learned through bitter experience that a balance of forces in the region is indispensable to our own security and that no equilibrium can be achieved without our active participation" (Armacost, Jan. 29, 1985, p. 1). Armacost concludes the aforementioned paragraph by saying the influx of hundreds of thousands of Asian immigrants to our shores are making an extraordinary contribution to our national life in every field of human endeavor (p. 1). Second, "There is a growing national concensus regarding the importance of our ties to the Pacific...and to the efficacy and advisability of the policies we are pursuing there" (p. 1). Third, "the growing American interest in Asia need not come at the expense of our interest in other regions" (p. 1). Here, Armacost is

referring to European alarmists who feard his appointment after succeeding Larry Eagleburger. He continues, "These fears are groundless" (p. 1). He assures the Europeans that "a strong American strategic presence in East Asia contributes directly to European security by confronting the Soviets with the prospect of a two-front war if they undertake aggressive moves on the Continent" (p. 1). In the succeeding pages, Armacost discusses regional developments, the major policy challenges, and concludes by saying he has "avoided any grand design for American policy in the next four years. The hallmark of our approach is the patient tending of policy lines that have already been well laid....The roots of our policy, I believe, are strong....The current requirement is patience, attentiveness and perseverance rather than dramatic new initiatives" (p. 4). Under major policy challenges he mentions the Philippines: here, he says we face significant problems. "Since the assassination of Ninoy Aquino, the United States has consistently pressed for a thorough, impartial, and complete investigation of the killing and urged Philippine authorities to open up the political process and rely more heavily upon market forces to stimulate a revival of economic growth" (p. 3). At this point in time Armacost was also assuring his audience that "restrictions on press freedoms have been

relaxed; political activity has been resumed by opposition groups; the procedures for succession have been altered; relatively free elections held; opposition representation in the legislature increased; constraints on the arbitrary power of the government multiply; and IMF (International Monetary Fund) agreement initiated; and a restructuring of Philippine debt negotiated" (p. 3): in effect, he states, "we shall continue to encourage the further democratization of Philippine politics, the opening up of Philippine economy..." and the enabling of the Philippine armed forces "to counter a growing insurgency in rural areas" (p. 3).

Current Policy No. 653 from which these excerpts are taken sets the stage for Current Policy Nos. 660, 760, 774, and 815; the White House Office of the Press Secretary Fact Sheet: "Philippine Aid Package," April 23, 1986, and the subsequent "Transcripts of Ambassador Bosworth's Press Conference at the Manila Overseas Press Club," January 13, 1986; the statement by National Republican Institute for International Affairs before SFRC, January 23, 1986; the Fletcher Forum Interview with the Honorable Paul D. Wolfowitz, United States Ambassador to Indonesia, former Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, March 19, 1986; the statement to the Foreign Relations Committee United

States Senate by Gaston J. Sigur, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, June 3, 1986; and Speech and Question and Answer by the Honorable George P. Shultz, Secretary of State, before the Foreign Policy Association, New York, New York, June 4, 1986, Reform in the Philippines and American Interests: The U.S. Role in Consolidating Democracy.

In Current Policy No. 660, the Honorable Paul D. Wolfowitz says the U.S. will continue to support the effort to guarantee fair local elections in 1986 and presidential elections in 1987 (Wolfowitz, Feb. 22, 1985, p. 1). In Current Policy No. 760, he says "the Philippines, one of our closest and most important allies is in deep trouble (Oct.30, 1985, p. 1). A Communist takeover in the Philippines, he continues, would threaten the East Asian region that has successful economies. "Most of all, it would threaten the Philippine people themselves, permanently destroying all hopes for democracy" (p. 1). He lists increased freedom of the press as one of the significant steps taken by the Philippine Government in 1983 and 1984. The Communist Party of the Philippines/New People's Army (CPP/NPA) are his main concern. In Current Policy No. 774, Michael H. Armacost says "When you read the press, sometimes you get the idea that our exclusive interest in the Philippines

is our air and naval bases at Clark Field and Subic Bay. That is grossly unfair to the Filipinos and demeans the very real importance of the Philippines and the Filipino people to whom we are inextricably bound by ties of history, sentiment and national interest" (Armacost, Dec. 5, 1985, p. 1). In Current Policy No. 815, Assistant Secretary of State Gaston Sigur says "U.S. security interests in the Philippines stem from three agreements signed with the Philippine Government in the years immediately following its independence in 1946. These agreements concern military bases, security assistance, and mutual defense": March 1947, amended in 1966, and further amended in 1979 (Sigur, April 10, 1986, p. 1). "At the expiration of the original 25-year agreement period in 1991, the basing agreement's term becomes indefinite" (p. 1).

In Fact Sheet "Philippine Aid Package" President Reagan announced a major program of economic and military support for the Philippines. The funding for Fiscal Year (FY) 86 included an additional $100 million in Economic Support Funds (ESF) (April 23, 1986, p. 1). The total funding, which totals about $500 million, "will all be on a grant basis except the PL-480 Title I, which is on a highly concessionary loan basis" (p. 2). In September and October, the House and Senate, respectively, passed

the Philippine aid package that provided an additional $100 millions to the aforementioned, or $200 million ESP ("Philippine Aid Passes Senate," p. 1).

On January 13, 1986, Ambassador Bosworth conducted a press conference at the Manila Overseas Press Club. At this time he said the American Government welcomed the Philippine election as an opportunity for them "to continue the process of democratic revitalization which began with the Batasang Pambasa election in 1984. As the Supreme Court has noted, there is clearly an overwhelming desire on the part of the Filipino people to have a presidential election at this time" (Bosworth, p. 1). On January 23, 1986, a speaker, speaking on behalf of the Board of Directors of the National Republican Institute for International Affairs and their Party Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf, said "We have concluded, that if the current laws and procedures are enforced--fairly, honestly, and without partisan distinction--the February 7th elections can be representative of the national will of the Philippine people" (Fahrenkopf, p. 1). Further, the speaker said, the Republican Institute believes "that our proposed mission will have both the necessary access and the appropriate sophistication to make a responsible determination in this regard" (p. 1).

In an interview with the Honorable Paul D.

Wolfowitz, March 19, 1986, the Fletcher Forum asked him what he thought "the role of Congress was in both galvanizing public opinion about the elections and in influencing U.S. policy toward the Philippines in the month of February 1986" (Wolfowitz, p. 4). Wolfowitz responded that "the presidential observer delegation, headed by Senator Lugar and Senator Murther, played a major role" (p. 4). Wolfowitz continued there was very close legislative-executive cooperation. He is very careful to point out that we, the U.S., have to realize the limits of what we can accomplish in someone else's country: "It's better that it happens through the actions of Filipinos themselves than if it's somehow attributed to the actions of the U.S. government and U.S. Congress" (p. 5). He concluded here, "Filipinos were really doing it themselves" (p. 5). Forum asked if he feels the U.S. role was "not crucial in bringing about the changing government? Could Marcos have been deposed without the efforts that had been made on the part of the United States?" (p. 5). Wolfowitz responded that he supposed everyone's effort was crucial, however, "the most crucial effort was that of the Filipinos themselves. Without their doing what they had done, no amount of hectoring or advice or resolutions or whatever from the United States would have done any good at all" (p. 6).

Forum poignantly asked if there were communication between General Ramos and Defense Minister Enrile and the U.S. Government immediately before the general's and the defense minister's move to Camp Crame and Camp Aguinaldo. Wolfowitz responded "No" (p. 6).

In the lengthy interview that ensued, time after time, Wolfowitz took the position that our military aid to the Philippines was not intended to "prop up Marcos" (p. 8); nevertheless, opponents of it have said that that was its very function. Wolfowitz is extremely concerned that lack of military aid in the Philippines will only strengthen the communists because without those monies the insurgents would possess the only viable military (pp. 9-11). He adds "I don't think anyone is saying we know these people will be like the Khmer Rouge [highly nationalistic]; the point is they could be....they have a doctrine that is basically committed to the ruthless restructuring of society" (p. 11).

On June 3, 1986, in a Statement to the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, Gaston J. Sigur, said that the proposal President Reagan submitted to Congress on April 23 was a key element in our effort to assist the Philippines economically and militarily (Sigur, June 3, 1986, p. 2). Moreover, Sigur is impressed with Corazon Aquino's recent selection of a

new Supreme Court"--composed of members whom Filipinos consider to be of highest integrity" (p. 4). Sigur believes the new Supreme Court will restore the judicial "check and balance" necessary to democratic government (p. 4). He stated "President Aquino has removed all restrictions of press freedoms. The media in the Philippines are as free and as vibrant as our own. Additionally, her government has demonstrated its full commitment to the protection of human rights in both theory and practice" (p. 5). He anticipates "an early return to full functioning democratic institutions" (p. 6).

Sigur also feels that the complex economic problem has great potential for a relatively quick turnaround (p. 6). "The country," he says, "is richly endowed in natural and human resources....Moreover, the financial outlook, aside from the budget deficit, is relatively good" (p. 7). Three conditions, he points out, are necessary to solve the Philippine economic problems:

1. right domestic policies by the Aquino Government
2. adequate international assistance now, and
3. a positive reaction by "the Philippine and international business communities" (p. 7).

He believes " a comprehensive counter-insurgency strategy under joint civilian-military leadership as well as an

amnesty component is needed" (p. 12). In his concluding statement, Sigur declares that given our long association with the Philippines and our special interests there "we ought to do all that we can in the way of appropriate assistance at this critical juncture in their history" (p. 18).

Probably the single, most important document issued by the State Department regarding the Philippines is PR No. 124, June 4, 1986 (Shultz, pp. 1-19). This document is a record of a speech with a question and answer period by the Honorable George P. Shultz, Secretary of State, presented to the Foreign Policy Association: "Reform in the Philippines and American Interests: The U.S. Role in Consolidating Democracy." Shultz began by urging support for the comprehensive reforms being undertaken by the Aquino government. He visited Manila following the Tokyo Economic Summit in May. He said they have ambitious objectives, but "the Philippines must surmount formidable obstacles," yet they have already made an impressive start (p. 2). The thesis of his speech is to encourage "American business and financial communities to play an active role" in supporting the Philippines (p. 2).

He iterated that what happens in the Philippines is important for Americans. " Our mutual defense arrangements are of critical strategic importance, not

only for U.S. and Philippine security, but for peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region as a whole" (p. 3). As one of the leading trade partners and investors in the Philippines, he feels we are in a position to move them forward, because the growth potential is already there (p. 3).

Much of what Shultz had to say concerning the Philippines is really a synthesis of what has already been stated by Armacost, Wolfowitz, Sigur, and others: e.g., the communist insurgency; an economy distorted by inequities, declining growth rates and irrational government interference; and a political system that was undermined by centralized control and corrupt practices. Shultz, as if speaking to the Philippine people themselves, said Filipinos recognize "the issues they face are fundamentally Philippine problems requiring Philippine solutions" (p. 4). He compared Corazon Aquino with FDR and, looking at Dan Rather in the audience, said her first 100 days practically left FDR standing still: "The hundred days she had so far wouldn't even have FDR in office yet" (p. 5). The Aquino government is definitely on the right track, he stated (p. 6). Shultz reiterates State Department comments, "It has appointed a Constitutional Drafting Commission with broad political

representation that is already hard at work" (p. 7). For the remainder of the speech Shultz offered a lengthy discussion using specific figures to convince future investors of the profits they can reap if they take the chance and invest now. For example, "the work force is well-educated. The economic infrastructure is in place. The savings rate is high. Annual inflation is less than five percent....the peso is stable with international reserves up from $1.0 billion to $1.6 billion since Aquino took office. Internationally, the combination of lower oil prices and lower interest rates promise to benefit the Philippine economy significantly over the coming months" (p. 8): estimates for net gain based on declines are $800 million this year (p. 8). He said "That ain't hay" (p. 8).

In his restatement of the American promise of economic assistance of $500 million and military assistance of $100 million, where more than 90 percent of this aid would be on a grant basis, Shultz concludes "I believe that the American investors who come in early and for the long-haul will reap large benefits" (p. 13). The interview ends with a Q & A between Dan Rather and Secretary of State George P. Shultz. In their discourse they move away from the Philippine issue toward a global context between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Shultz seems to express President Reagan's desire to radically reduce nuclear armaments (p. 18).

Communications

American Print Media

During the past year the American media have been inundated with stories about the Philippines. Names, such as Ferdinand E. Marcos, Imelda Marcos, Benigno Aquino, Corazon Aquino, Cardinal Sin, Defense Minister Enrile, General Ramos, and the Philippine people themselves have become the subjects of household conversations. The cover of the March 3, 1986 issue of Newsweek magazine features a bold illustration of Ferdinand E. Marcos pointing an accusative finger ("Showdown..."). The issue contains more than a dozen pictures, most of them in color, depicting the various players in the Philippine theatre. Some of the pictures show Philippine soldiers carrying modern American rifles. Another photograph demonstrates President Marcos speaking with his left hand outstretched as if to convince Ramos and Enrile to return to their posts (Anderson, p. 30). The picture of Enrile and Ramos located on the lower half of the adjoining page suggests that they are being admonished by Marcos (p. 31). Other photographs reveal General Ver strutting slightly behind Marcos and his wife and special envoy Philip Habib and Ambassador Bosworth

listening to an animated Cardinal Sin. At the bottom of that page, a pensive Corazon Aquino pictured in her now familiar yellow dress is dubbed "Challenger Aquino" (p. 31).

The cover of the March 10, 1986 issue of Time magazine displays the images of President Corazon Aquino and Vice-President Salvador Laurel ("Now For The Hard Part"). The cover story page frames Corazon Aquino being sworn in as president, again in her yellow dress (p. 3). The other two stories on this page discuss NASA showing a lack of common sense and Gorbachev defining his mission at the Communist Party Congress: Aquino is featured first. As with the Newsweek issue, Time, not to be outdone, offers the reader even more pictures and more copy. The photographs are no less dramatic. Some of the headlines move from Newsweek's "Showdown: The Last Act in Manila" (cover) to Time's "Now For the Hard Part" (cover), followed by "People Power" (Rosenblatt, p. 15). On page 19, we see a fiesta of the emancipated jubilant demonstrators, carrying a street-wide banner that reads "Free Again" (Tifft). That story is succeeded by "Anatomy of a Revolution" (Smith, p. 28). At the top of page 29, a wistful Ferdinand Marcos is labeled "Defeated Ruler Near the End" with caption "I am so very, very disappointed." Framed at the lower right are Cory Aquino

and Salvador Laurel with caption "A united opposition 'Cory! Cory! Cory!'..."

Time uses a clever "layout" device. The various articles feature a dateline sub-section that succinctly states what significant event occurred on that date. For example:

Dateline: February 7, 1986 "Battle of the Ballot Boxes" (p. 32).

Dateline: February 23, 1986 "Rebellion in the Army" (p. 33).

Dateline: February 26, 1986 "Exile in Hawaii" (p. 34).

Time's last Philippine article in this issue "Escape From a Gilded Palace: The former ruler left behind signs of an opulent life and hasty departure" exhibits one-eighth copy and seven-eighths photographs, illustrating Imelda's excesses (pp. 36-37).

Meanwhile U.S. News & World Report (USN&WR) presented Americans with yet another glossy cover photograph of Cory in yellow with large caption: "CAN SHE MAKE IT?" (March 10, 1986). This time the cover story page picture inside features thirty or more young Filipinos celebrating Marcos' departure (p. 3). The picture appears below that of former Secretary of State William Rogers, presidential commission chair who was

conducting the NASA hearings. As with the previous two magazines, USN&WR provides the reader with a number of similar pictures of the same players. The March 24, 1986 cover of Newsweek profiles the image of Mario Cuomo, but the first picture we encounter on the cover story page is that of Mrs. Marcos with a small caption: "Mrs. Marcos: Under Siege" followed by a large caption "Queen Imelda" (p. 3).

By March 24 the American press had almost exhausted the story concerning the transition of power in the Philippines that emphasized the political spectrum; now U.S. stories appearing in the various major popular American magazines shift to the economic spectrum. The Newsweek magazine that week carries a story entitled "How to Spend a Billion: Imelda Marcos squandered her country's money and hew own reputation" (Anderson, p. 34). The photographs here reveal her "single-minded lust for possessions": the bedroom with its gilded interior; rack after rack of clothes, primarily dresses; a treasure room filled with jewels and jewelry; and her now famous storehouse of shoes (p. 35). Also displayed are pictures taken from home movies of what some have referred to as "tacky" parties (p. 36).

The cover of Time's March 31, 1986 issue reads "The Man Who Makes Reagan See Red." Once again, on the cover

story page we see a picture of Imelda Marcos, positioned immediately beneath a picture of Daniel Ortega (p. 3). The pictures are of equal dimension suggesting that by now the Nicaragua story might have a slight edge over the Philippine story based on the position of the two frames. The main caption on page 34 reads "Chasing Marcos' Millions" (Tifft). Again, the photographs reveal Imelda's extravagance; however, now we also view a large portrait showing Cory hard at work with her ministers and Cabinet (p. 35). At the bottom of that same page, flanking a picture of Imelda on the opposing page, is a picture of Philippine Good Government Commissioner Salonga perusing papers with U.S. Representative Stephen Solarz, D-NY, Chairman of the House Sub-Committee on Asian Affairs. The juxtaposition of the pictures contained on pages 34 and 35 respectively are much like a chess board, insofar as we immediately recognize protagonist vs. antagonist. The same might be said about all of the magazines discussed at this point. The information contained in the magazines, however, speaks in a slightly different character than that relegated to the speech or rhetoric of journalists writing for major newspapers in the U.S. To begin with, there is a quantitative element: magazines can <u>feature</u> and provide more space, although fewer stories, in their issues;

conversely, there is a qualitative difference, insofar as newspapers are more concerned with the documentation of day-to-day events. If we follow, for the same period of time, the content of magazines and newspapers, they are almost identical. Magazines have a decided advantage in that they are able to accomplish two important functions often ignored by newspapers:

1. the weekly issue is able to reflect on the entire week's happenings, and
2. more photographs are made available in a single source--usually in color.

Sixty Minutes takes its cue from Newsweek, Time, USN&WR, etc. Magazines with their many pictures, moreover, provide the reader/viewer with a good transition between the print media and the electronic media.

TV Guide, the most circulated of all American magazines by far, is probably the best example of transition between print and electonic media, not because of its pictures, but because it is precisely a guide for television programming. Although the cover of May 31-June 6, 1986 TV Guide illustrates McGuyver's Richard Dean Anderson, the bold caption reads "Here's How TV Influenced the Revolution: Uprising in the Philippines" (Cover). The article "Could There Have Been a Revolution Without Television?" (part one of two installments) runs

from page 4 to page 14: seven pages of full copy and four full-page ads are presented (Kolatch). TV Guide emphasizes in bold type Corazon Aquino"s statement: "This overkill of Marcos on local television is working to my advantage....[People] make an extra effort to come out and see me" (p. 12) and on the last page the author Jonathan Kolatch comments: "The more important story...was out on the streets, where tens and hundreds of thousands of volunteers stood vigil over their ballots. Philippine television made no mention of it" (p. 14). Throughout the article numerous examples are cited to support the idea that television acted as a catalyst to promote the Philippine revolution (see next section for specific examples). TV Guide's article about Philippine television may also be considered an example, par excellence, of intertextuality.[2]

American Electronic Media

According to TV Guide, American television interest in the Philippines begins with "the Marcos interview with Daniel Brinkley on ABC's This Week on November 3, 1985 that forced the February 7th election, to the Aquino-Marcos 'Debate' on ABC's Nightline on February 5, 1986" (Kolatch, p. 5). The capture of the government television station Channel 4 that cut Marcos' lifeline, Kolatch notes, moreover, played "a pivotal and

participatory role. Without it history would have been written differently" (p. 5). (See section on Philippine Media).

The reason Cory Aquino did not receive anything approaching adequate coverage of her campaign was because the major commercial television stations there, Channels 2, 9 and 13, were owned, operated and controlled by Ferdinand E. Marcos. One of the stations carries the logo FEMI: Far East Management, Inc. In reality, however, it stands for Ferdinand Edralin Marcos (p. 6). Channel 7 is the only station where Marcos could not exercise complete control: nevertheless, because it was owned partly by an American Bob Stewart, through his Filipino wife, it "was permitted to resume broadcasting with a 60-percent share reapportioned to a close Marcos associate Gualberto Duavit" (p. 6). During the week of the elections, Kolatch relates, Duavit held "an ever-present rod over Channel 7's news-coverage policy--by threatening to cut off the foreign exchange allowance needed to import equipment and programming" (p. 6). In this manner, Marcos' domination of the airwaves, Kolatch declares, was complete (p. 6).

Channel 4 was the only government station. Needless to say, it, too, was controlled by Marcos. With both commercial and governmental television at his disposal,

Marcos was free to move at will. In terms of radio, only one station dared speak out against him: the Catholic radio station Veritas (PEOPLE POWER [Videotape]). Cardinal Sin, its advocate, used Veritas to rally and marshall the Philippine people during and immediately following the election. Corazon Aquino's message to the people was permitted, however, during the final two weeks of the campaign but, as TV Guide points out, minimal air-time was alloted to her: "Aquino received at best 20 percent of the television coverage given Marcos" (p. 6).

Knowing too well that local television was denied her, "Cory Aquino played heavily to the American television audience hoping that the coverage would rebound through the local press and radio through word-of-mouth" (p. 8). Kolatch continues, of greater significance was her effort to obtain "U.S. Government support in the anticipated political struggle following the campaign" (p. 8). What has been stated thus far concisely sets the stage for the ensuing confrontation where both players used the media as their weapons, each attempting to subdue the other: Marcos using his domination of Philippine media--television--Aquino using American television and radio Veritas at home. Obviously, as pointed out earlier, lack of Philippine

television coverage demanded that she hit the campaign trail on a person-to-public basis. The American television rebound effect is what concerns us here.

American television media, primarily ABC, CBS, NBC, and CNN, attempted to carry stories about the Philippine election at least two weeks prior to the event. The immediacy factor of American television news is such that it permeates practically every facet of American society all at once. During that period we were both told and shown pictures of the American observation team in Manila. Instantaneously, Americans found out that the Philippine election was a fraud: "That day American television watchers saw interviews with 30 COMELEC computer operators who had walked off the job because the figures they were asked to tabulate were being manipulated (p. 14).

Garrick Utley, reporting the NBC Nightly News of March 4, 1986 from the Philippines, said that "The real problem in the Philippines is poverty. Roman Catholic radicals in communist-held territories are advocating 'people power.' President Aquino must work toward solving a problem of land distribution and thereby eliminate the feudal system" (Utley). Meanwhile, Dan Rather on CBS Evening News on the same date was saying the same thing: the need for President Aquino to deal

with poverty and the communist threat (Rather). The next evening Tom Brokaw, speaking for NBC, stated that "two high-ranking officials from the Marcos regime" testified that Marcos is linked to the assassination of Benigno Aquino (Brokaw). CNN, on the other hand, was saying on this same date that the U.S. would not consider crimes Marcos may have committed while serving as President of the Philippines, but we would consider his property holdings in the U.S. (CNN News Update, March 5, 1986).

On the evening of March 10, 1986 Dan Rather told us that the palace tapes under the Marcos Regime contain humdreds of hours of videotapes that reflect the lifestyle of the Marcoses. Some of the video clips even record President Marcos' victory party (Rather). Both CBS and NBC, Rather and Brokaw, respectively, reported the $800 million, estimated, hidden by Marcos in Swiss bank accounts (Rather; Brokaw). Brokaw said the estimated wealth might well be in the billions (Brokaw). The news, presented by the major networks form the period of March 15th through April 1st, unlike the magazines, continued to emphasize political themes over the economic ones. The evening of March 15th, CBS reported that Catholic nuns went to the communist Southern provinces of the Philippines asking the people to give Aquino a chance. The communist reply was that they will wait and

see. An interesting footnote is a comment by one of the nuns who said "Marcos stripped the people of everything--especially freedom of speech and freedom of the press" (Rather, March 15, 1986). By April 1st, the political situation in the Philippines was still the lead story. The NBC Nightly News reported: President Aquino retires 39 generals, while 11 old guard generals have their tenure extended. On June 6, 1986, Rather was saying: President Aquino names Arturo Campo head negotiator to negotiate with the communists in the Philippines (Rather). WLBH-FM, Mattoon, IL carrying national ABC Radio News, aired the exact same story. (Newscast, June 6, 1986).

Radio, during the month of July 1986, seemed to carry the same information available on television except for the fact that the former was more abbreviated and, of course, without pictures. For example, CNN reported that 5000 Filipinos demonstrated for Marcos and against Aquino (July 4, 5, & 6, 1986). A week later UPI Radio Satellite News with Kate Murphy reporting said President Reagan praised President Aquino for the handling of the Tolentino attempt to take over the Philippine presidency. In his two-paragraph letter he closed by saying Aquino definitely has the full support of the Philippine people (Murphy, July 15, 1986). These July events are related

from beginning to end and appear in both media in chronological order. Now for the Philippine story as told by Philippine media.

Philippine Print Media

The Philippine connection in the United States is best exemplified in a newspaper Philippine News (Esclamada (Ed.)). As the largest Filipino-American newspaper in the U.S., it has many contacts based both in the Philippines and, of course, in the U.S. The Philippine News serves as a forum for Filipino-Americans and newly arrived Filipinos. In July 1986 some of the headlines read "'No progress' in RP rebel peace dialogue," "Nuns, U.S. missionary released by Muslims" (p. 1). "EDITORIAL: Peace not vengeance," "Negroes, once the land of the wealthy, now the poor man's grave," "Marcos loyalists should either shut up or put up," "Tolentino made a clown of himself before the world" (p. 4), "Free the Manila Hotel!" "PERSPECTIVES: One reason to see the homeland; see three freedoms regained" (p. 5). About half of the issue is devoted exclusively to news about the Philippines. Of the sixteen pages, the first eight contain mostly Philippine copy. Page eight's headlines read "Marcos gov't paid extra to SF firm, documents reveal," "Lawyers question Marcos." Page nine advertises subscription to the Philippine News and the

remaining pages contain U.S. copy about Filipinos and Philippine issues in the United States.

Opposition newspapers and magazines were not permitted to flourish during the last fourteen years of the Marcos dictatorship. After Marcos announced a snap election, a few opposition publications were permitted. Examples of those publications are: Mr. & Ms. (newspaper), Malaya (newspaper), Sunday Inquirer Magazine (magazine), Philippine Daily Inquirer (newspaper) NAMFREL: National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (pamphlet), and Presidential Elections (pamphlet).

The January 10-16, 1986 issue of Mr. & Ms. features stories about Cory Aquino hitting the campaign trail. The reader is presented with photographs and accounts of what happened on December 27, 1985 in Pampanga and Olongapo City; on December 30 in Lagune & Quezon; on January 2, 1986 in Baguio, and on January 4 in Leyte (Navasero, pp. 19 and 20). Of the ten pictures displayed, perhaps the most inspiring is a large frame with Cory and supporters flashing the now familiar L-sign for victory, at the base of the massive Agoo Stone Face, a bust of Marcos (p. 20). The commentary on these two pages urges support for Cory. The remaining pictures show her speaking in rally after rally to the Filipinos (p. 20).

In the January 17th Malaya editorial section, the reader is presented with a pastoral letter. "Jaime Cardinal Sin called on the people to resist 'evil' as he cited bribery attempts exerted upon teachers, baranggay officials and ordinary people in exchange for their votes" (p. 4). The author says, "The campaign seems to have degenerated into that 'guns, goons and gold' category over which the Opposition and the people have expressed alarm" (p. 4). He states further that a number of killings had been tallied in politically-inspired violence, "outside of the more common dirty tactics being employed by rabid partisans out to win the day for their patrons" (p. 4). Of particular note are the Cardinal's comments concerning the media. In the letter Cardinal Sin pointed to "the lies and propaganda used by some quarters against opponents who are, on the other hand, deprived of adequate access to media" (p. 4).

Malaya reported that "Monkees"[3] were sighted in Central Luzon, just prior to the February 7th election ("Terrorism drive by KBL exposed," p. 1). The article says "Opposition leaders accused yesterday elements loyal to the Marcos administration of waging a 'terror campaign' against known supporters of the Aquino-Laurel ticket for the Feb. 7 election" (p. 1). Malaya, February 5, 1986, however, presented their readers with huge

headlines that read "CORY AHEAD IN POLLS!" (p. 1). It appears that the electorate refused to be intimidated. Malaya goes on to say that the recent public opinion surveys showing President Marcos ahead of Cory in Friday's presidential poll were "belied by three poll experts who concluded it was Mrs. Aquino instead who is ahead in voters' poll preferences" (p. 1). This front-page article also displays a large photograph of a massive Aquino rally.

The Opposition's newspapers attempted to use as many photographs as possible to inspire voters to support Cory. Many of the electorate could barely read and write and therefore benefitted more from pictures than from written copy (PEOPLE POWER [Videotape]). Television, being unavailable to Aquino until the end, made the presentation of pictures even more important to the illiterate and lower class.

In March, Malaya published four installments of what has come to be known as "Four days in February." The author Joseph Albright, writing for Cox News Service, begins his narration: Saturday, February 22, 1986 and concludes with Tuesday, February 25. He says the activities of the last week in February in the Philippines were the most dramatic in recent history. His article is a cogent synthesis of the more salient

incidents that occurred then. He echoes most of what is already known about the relationship between the Philippines and the U.S.: particularly as they relate to political, economic, and military determinants. He discusses the defection of Enrile and Ramos in such a way that the reader feels present at the event. Exact timetables are given for the succeeding events that toppled Marcos: e.g., "Enrile and Ramos went public with their long-mouldering defiance in a dramatic press conference starting at 6:45 p.m." (p. 2) and, speaking about people needed to protect the generals, he writes "'Six people responded in the first 10 minutes,' he [Butz Aquino] said. 'In another 15 minutes, we were several dozens. Within an hour we had several thousand'" (p. 3). "Four days in February" poignantly discusses the takeover of television and other media (see next section).

Like its counterpart in the U.S., Philippine newspapers in March and April devoted a considerable amount of space to stories about Imelda Marcos. As with previous opposition newspapers, The Sunday Inquirer Magazine--March 30--illustrates five pictures, four of which reveal Imelda at various stages in her life: age 16, age 20, as the First Lady, and later dancing with actor George Hamilton (Aureus-Briscoe, p. 12).

Newspapers during this period advertise the opening of Malacanang Palace: "Starting March 18: Malacanang Palace Opens its Doors to the Public. Now, It Has Truly Become the Palace of the Filipino People" (Ministry of Tourism, March 1986). Also appearing in the March 18 issue of Philippine Daily Inquirer is an article about the palace, "Philippines' newest museum by the Pasig river" (Briscoe, p. 24). A photograph shows lines of people beside a sign, promising free admission (photo by Fred Cruz). Finally, two 8 X 10 photographs displaying President and Commander-in-Chief, Her Excellency Corazon Aquino reviewing the 81st graduation rites of the Philippine Military Academy leaves the reader/viewer at a point where the future of the Philippines seems assured (Marquez; "Welcome Home, My Soldiers").

Philippine Electronic Media

One of the most significant acts to occur after the defection of General Ramos and Defense Minister Enrile was a story, that a prominent Aquino backer Assemblyman Alberto Romulo presented to the media that Enrile now acknowledges was false (Albright, 3rd of 4 parts, p. 1). "'I have just come from Minister Enrile,'" Romulo had said. "'He has talked to the Presidential Security Command. President Marcos has flown the coop,'" he concluded (p. 1).

It appears that Enrile was engaged in "deliberate disinformation" (p. 1). According to military reformist leader Gregorio Honasan, who was with Enrile at the time, the story, in retrospect, created a euphoria that gave the new opposition leaders and their ranks "an important psychological weapon in starting the defection of major armed forces units from Marcos" (p. 1). The rumors carried as fact on Radio Veritas and other pro-rebel stations, according to Albright, helped provide cover for a rebel commando raid on Channel 4, the government television station (p. 1). Thus, Albright's article tends to corroborate Jonathan Kolatch's article in TV Guide.

In his last installment Albright also confirms Marcos' telephone call to Senator Paul Laxalt, R-Nev. Albright says Marcos asked Laxalt for his advice (Albright, last of 4 parts, p. 1). Albright quoting Laxalt writes "'I wasn't bound by diplomatic niceties,' Laxalt would recall. 'I said: "Cut and cut cleanly. The time has come"'" (p. 1). The now famous retort by Marcos is also mentioned by Albright "'I am so very, very disappointed'" (p. 1). Nevertheless, Albright relates that Marcos attempted "to throw a monkeywrench around 9:30 A.M. into Aquino's plans to be inaugurated, that morning" (p. 1). He appealed to the well-known

presidential ambitions of Enrile. Albright concludes with Enrile's account, "Marcos 'asked me to form a provisional government and take care of the country'" (p. 1).

Albright does not devote a great deal of space to media involvement in his article, but his corroboration of the disinformation story carried by rebel media--primarily rebel radio stations that provided the cover for the subsequent rebel commando raid on Channel 4--is extremely significant. This story, he writes, "spread panic among government forces and started a wave of defections within the regular armed forces that until then had remained loyal" (p. 1). Both Albright and Kolatch, in this respect, are in agreement: media was a participant.

The following is a brief synopsis of the videotape entitled PEOPLE POWER: The Philippine Experience. The videotape begins by stating "What you are about to see are actual shots of people and events that happened in the Philippines from August 1983 to February 1986." The executive producer further states that certain scenes have been carefully edited into their own original material to present a complete picture of the presidential election and the revolution. The viewer is first introduced to the Philippines as if arriving at

Manila Airport with Benigno S. Aquino, Jr. on his return from political exile. We hear a gunshot and realize that he has been assassinated. We are informed that it took two years and five months and a million write-in signatures to contest the Marcos Presidency. The write-in candidate was obviously the widow of Benigno Aquino. Throughout the videotape Cory Aquino becomes the symbol clad in yellow that is held up to the existing regime and the world as a hope for a better Philippine future.

This documentary closely parallels what the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and other print media presented in their copy during the past two years. The tape, however, departs significantly from what the American viewer was presented via television. The tape includes material we have previously seen over the major American networks: ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, etc., but the two-hour documentary presents the viewer with more detail and more substance. What follows now are only some of the more salient points where the videotape departs from what was presented to the American viewer at home.

Much todo is made concerning the reinstatement of Commanding General, Air Force of the Philippines, Chief-of-Staff Fabian Ver. Cory Aquino rejects the government's acquiittal of General Ver. The Catholic Church looms to the forefront throughout the tape. The

spirituality of the Philippine people becomes evident almost immediately. The novice is initiated into the close affinity between church and state as it exists in the Philippines. Corazon Aquino's ascendancy into a Joan of Arc role, rallying her people against a tyrant, becomes an overpowering image.

The stage has been set and the players have accepted their parts. The then current administration and its supporters are cast as the villains; the opposition forces are cast as the heroes: Aquino trades her victim role for heroine. Evidence of the aforementioned is given credence throughout the film by the use of the color yellow: the ballots arrive bound in lavish yellow ribboned bows; millions of rally participants dress in yellow; yellow banners are displayed everywhere an Aquino rally takes place; and, the heroine wears yellow: in the language of color, yellow signifies hope.

The melodrama is further heightened by instance after instance of still and action shots of atrocities committed by the regime: the antagonists. For example, a young man, obviously dead, is pulled from the water with his hands tied behind him; another man is shown with massive head wounds and a montage of photographs display assassinated, mutilated victims.

The language of the people is Togalog, English,

Togalog-English and English-Togolog throughout the tape. Whether or not the viewer understands Togalog does not in any way impair the impact of the speakers; the non-verbal tonality[4] and physical gestures speak for themselves. The videotape seems to present the viewer with the main players, followed by the masses who are followed by bit players acting cameo roles and concludes with a jubilant celebration by the heirs of a new democracy. Some of the cameo roles are played by Ateneo University students, uniformed parochial schoolchildren chanting "Cory! Cory! Cory!" and election officials debating contestors--Aquino-ites. Individual women, finally, comment on what Cory has done for the rights and privileges of the women in the Philippines: women in the Philippines will now play a significant role in the lifeblood of the country.

Some players play the role of supporting actors; they are Jose Suarez, Chairman of BAYAN and Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General. Suarez, a leftist or communist, and Clark, an American capitalist, both agree about the misgivings they have concerning the Philippine elections but for different reasons. Suarez declares "this is an absolutely meaningless presidential snap election. We should go back to the basic issues facing the people, like militarization, like the anti-nuclear issue, like this grinding poverty of our people, like the

rising unemployment, no?, like the U.S. military bases in Clark Air Base and Subic Bay." Clark divulges that "the U.S. government, wanting to support the Marcos dictatorship, therefore needed something to convince the American people that it was a democracy. The Reagan Administration says that if there's a credible election and the government is supported by the people, we'll increase our military aid and economic aid and aim toward the day when we'll invest hundreds of millions of dollars in permanent facilities in Subic and Clark." Other supporting actors are Sister Maria Contreras and Imee Marcos Manotoc, daughter of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos. Sister Contreras is skeptical if not defiant about the role of the U.S. observation team headed by Senator Richard Lugar, R-Ind.; whereas, Imee campaigned more against the role of women in politics and communism than for what her father endorsed.

The last of the supporting actors include Raul Segovia, Chairman of the Alliance of Concerned Teachers who says "elections are rigged"; Jose Concepcion, Chairman of the National Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL); attorney Joker Aroyo, Counsel for UNIDO, who represents Cory at election hearings; COMELEC technicians who walk out; Nicanor Yniguez, Speaker of Parliament and Ruling Parties Campaign Coordinator who has a conflict of

interests; and, Edmundo Garcia, political science professor, an idealist advocate for democracy.

The videotape concludes with a final showdown between the Filipino people and the Philippine Armed Forces. Just prior to the collision between the tanks and humanity, and after the statement by Ramsey Clark, American President Ronald Reagan is highlighted in a speech where he states "fraud could have occurred on both sides." Corazon Aquino, knowing the moment of truth has arrived, realizing that the American Congress, American public opinion in the press, and Americans themselves support her legitimate claim to the presidency, challenges head-on both Marcos and Reagan. Reagan is included here because in public he seemingly supports Marcos with the statement above.

After this point the videotape picks up a tremendous momentum with major players reintroduced and supporting players now blurred into the masses. Marcos, despite being cast as the "heavy," emerges as the tragic hero and redeems himself in the final moments. He tells his henchman General Ver "You will disperse the crowds without shooting them." Enrile and Ramos, now clearly aligned with the people, inform President Marcos in Enrile's words "I am no longer afraid to die. You know your time is up."

In a final volley of emotional fireworks, the media is cast in a glorious role: it is returned to the people after armed conflict between opposing forces. The television media previously dominated by the Marcos regime is liberated: Channel 4, the government station and Channel 9, a commerical station that carried two other Marcos channels. Newscasters, both men and women, openly weep through their disbelief. Marcos departs and euphoria descends upon the people.

Summary

This paper has attempted to describe and compare and contrast political-economy as communication and the influence of media in the 1986 Philippine election. Political economy as communication was presented to the reader as a backdrop of events that occurred beginning with the assassination of Benigno Aquino and ending as of this writing. Further, this material was presented by supplying pertinent information found primarily in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and other print media: public media. The second half of the first section presented information supplied by the U.S. Department of State: State Department Papers.

The second section concentrated on the mainstay of this paper--communications. This section is divided into two parts: American media which is further sub-divided

into print media and electronic media; and likewise, Philippine media also sub-divided into print media and electronic media. As these headings suggest, the information perused was obtained from media of both nations.

Throughout the research, an endeavor to seek information from all available newsprint sources in the U.S. was not paramount; rather, an effort was made to focus on special salient print news--newspapers and magazines. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the Chicago Tribune are perhaps the two best known and most prestigious papers in the Midwest. Because stories contained in the Tribune closely paralleled those in the Post-Dispatch, only the latter needed to be documented here. The issue was to follow for a period of time the analysis through documentation of a major American newspaper. At times the local newspaper, the Charleston Times-Courier, was also consulted to provide information emanating from the grassroots level. The U.S. News & World Report, Newsweek and Time were also consulted as reflecting current popular news magazine journalism in the U.S. TV Guide, the most popular of all American magazines, was presented as a viable, authoritative, transitionary mode between the print and the electronic media.

The major networks ABC, CBS, NBC and CNN were carefully viewed nearly every night this year either through direct viewing or delayed viewing--videotape. CBS and NBC were given priority over ABC newscasts because these two major networks over the years have held a slight lead in the Nielson ratings; nevertheless, ABC is included: Good Morning America.

The Philippine print media contained in this report came from the more prominent opposition publications available at the time. Of the opposition newspapers, Malaya is the most significant. Other prominent newspapers included Mr. & Ms. and the Philippine Daily Inquirer; other prominent publications included the Sunday Inquirer Magazine, the NAMFREL: National Citizens Movement for Free Elections pamphlet, and the Presidential Elections pamphlet. Further, the information gleaned from the aforementioned sources was derived just prior to and after the elections.

Finally, the Philippine electronic media presented here represents a compilation of documentary film and videotape, carefully edited together as a two-hour testimony to the courage of the Filipino people. The various media of both nations discussed the nature, function, and purpose of Philippine radio and television under both the Marcos and Aquino administrations.

Obviously, the newness of the Aquino Government does not permit lengthy discourse.

Although interviews were conducted with Filipino graduate students attending American universities and Filipino professionals residing in the U.S., they are not included here because they served primarily to guide this research, especially as it pertained to print and electronic media in the Philippines.

Conclusion

James McGill Buchanan, father of the "Public Choice" theory that day-to-day politics are affected by economics, became the fourteenth American to win the Nobel Prize for Economics ("American wins..." October 17, 1986, p. 12A). If anything can be substantiated concerning the relationship between politics and economics in the Philippines, it is Buchanan's theory.

American interest in the Philippines existed prior to the Spanish-American War of 1898. This assertion is borne out by the fact that the Philippines, after the war, became the first American colony. After World War II, our military bases at Clark Air Field and Subic Bay remain as an American commitment to the deterrence of communism in Southeast Asia. That there also exists a relationship between political-economy and militarism is further substantiated by this paper. Filipinos, like

Americans, are concerned about their day-to-day existence and this is reflected by their standard of living. When Filipinos witnessed that their American counterparts enjoyed a higher standard of living and especially a greater participation by the rank-and-file in the government and politics of America, they wished this guarantee for themselves.

After the Japanese invasion of their homeland and their subsequent removal with the aid of Americans and other friendly powers, e.g., Australia, and after their independence from the U.S., Filipinos were essentially left to themselves to run their own affairs. That it became necessary for a strongman to head the Philippines is a moot point. What concerned both Filipinos and Americans alike was the poor quality of life that remained there. The State Department Papers support the contentions manifested by the American popular press, i.e., a change for the better was necessary in the Philippines.

When Americans learned from television and other media that Benigno Aquino had been assassinated, it affected even those who had never heard the name with a tremendous sense of remorse and disgust. Little by little American media of all types and at all levels began to give the Philippine story great play. What was

needed to complete the theatre-like activity in the Philippines was someone to fill the part of the slain Aquino. The Filipinos, more than the Americans, understood that only one such individual existed who could play that role as well as, or better than, he who was first cast.

Except for the videotape PEOPLE POWER: The Philippine Experience, this paper supports the notion that the actions and events, reported by both American and Philippine media and further advocated by the U.S. Department of State, are in agreement with what occurred in the Philippines just prior to and after the 1986 elections. The videotape due to its careful editing must remain as an account of those same events; however, the viewer of the tape must be cautioned that this material reflects the position and attitude of the new forces working in the Philippines: pro-Aquino. Nevertheless, the following facts remain and they are corroborated by TV Guide, Malaya, and the videotape:

1. Under the 14-year Marcos military dictatorship, media both print and electonic were severely restrained: censored (Tokoshi, April 26, 1986).
2. Marcos virtually controlled all television in the Philippines.
3. Only Radio Veritas remained a viable source of

unbiased news information.

4. An intensive struggle occurred enabling opposition force to overtake Marcos-controlled television in the Philippines: Ch. 4 and Ch. 9.
5. Without a free press, the rights of people are at the mercy of the government in power.

Understanding the above, Filipinos as they move into the next millennium will continue the fantastic work already initiated by safeguarding the voice of the people: the free press. The press will look to the new constitution that Aquino and those entrusted in its creation have created to safeguard the rights of Filipinos who reside at home and abroad ("Aquino Opens Drive..." October 17, 1986, p. 1E).

Both Washington and Manila are concerned about the armed left--the communists. The videotape gives the viewer a sense of urgency on the part of Philippine communists to resolve problems dealing with "the grinding poverty." Despite Aquino's release of communists and political dissidents from places of detention and despite the general amnesty, the skirmishes between communists and government troops persist. Aquino's Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile has repeatedly gone on record as saying that he does not know how much longer he can withstand the flagrant violation of the ceasefire: not all

leftists have agreed to a ceasefire. Enrile, on a recent talk show, warned Aquino against an ouster attempt stating that such a move would dissolve the Cabinet that he contends is crucial to the government, which he regards as a coalition ("Enrile warns Aquino..." October 20, 1986, p. 7A).

I feel that in order for the Philippine formula to succeed, three important factors remain:

1. Washington must make good its promises to support the Philippines politically, economically, and militarily.
2. Enrile must either support Aquino or be accommodated in such a way as to strengthen the present government, and finally,
3. Aquino's peace initiative must be given sufficient time to accomplish its purpose; otherwise, a new course of action must be taken to preserve the nation.

Contrary to Washington and Enrile's apprehension vis-a-vis the communists, I feel Aquino is succeeding in this area ("Rebels Offer Cease-fire...Nov. 2, 1986, pp. 1A, 6A). The question is whether or not she is succeeding fast enough to appease and placate her critics. In sum, America needs the Philippines and the Philippines need America. We must not allow the democratic experience now

in progress in the Philippines to succumb. I predict a new Philippine renaissance based on the present formula there and the cooperation between our two nations. In this respect, "people power" in the Philippines will have become the light for free people everywhere.

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Footnotes

[1]Consult the Catholic Encyclopedia of America, and/or The Encyclopedia Brittanica for more detailed information vis-a-vis geography, history and language.

[2]Intertextuality is when one medium comments on another medium: the commentary may involve the substance of the other medium, e.g., its performance, or the discussion may simply allude to its nature (Newcomb, 1981).

[3]The "Monkees" are a right-wing liquidation squad active in the 1960's.

[4]Sergei Eisenstein speaks of tonality as the dominant chord suggested by a visual piece: tonality is to film what tonality is to music.

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